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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1a,
Sociological Background
GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

131 East China[1] lies between 27-28° North
162 latitude and 115-23° East longitude. It is composed of the provinces of Shantung, Kiangsu, Anhwei, Chekiang, and Fukien. The region covers 607,000 square kilometers (230,000 sq. mi.), or about six per cent of China's total territory, and supports 162,500,000 people, well over one-fourth of China's population. This amounts to an average of 269 persons per square kilometer (705 per sq. mi.).[2]

TOPOGRAPHY

133 The region of East China is higher on the southwestern side, and most of the mountains cluster in the southern portion. The northern and central sections are mainly alluvial plains intersected by a network of rivers. Many of the major rivers flow through lakes and lie across the land like strings of pearls. In fact, there is such a large number of waterways flowing through the region that the sampan is the most common means of transportation.

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1. See chapter on "Government Structure" for political subdivisions.

2. Ch'u Shao-t'ang, Hsin Chung-kuo Ti-li [The Geography of New China], Shanghai, Ta Chung-kuo t'u-shu-chü, 1953, p. 40.

161 An increase in population has been discernible during the past century in most of the provinces of the East China Region, but some of the gazeteers have recorded a decrease in the population of Fukien Province. Available statistics have placed the Fukien population at 17,173,293 in 1829, the peak year, and from that time the population in Fukien has declined until it reached a low of less than 10 million in 1930. Some slight fluctuations have been observed, but the highest figures have not exceeded 14.5 million.[6] In explanation it might be said that the economic backwardness of the province discouraged any population increase, and, as well, the wars fought in this region have had some effect on the decline in population. Added to these factors is the emigration of the Fukienese to Thailand and other countries.

II. COMPOSITION OF POPULATION

A. Age Groups

•162 The communique announcing the 1953 census failed to give details on average ages of the population. Breakdown figures, subsequently released, are incomplete and inadequate as a test of the Communist claim that the young and able-bodied element is predominant in China. So far we have learned that

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6. Chin-t'ao Huang, Fu-chien Ching-chi Kai-k'uang [The Economic Situation in Fukien], Fukien, Provincial Government, 1943, pp. 19-21.

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• 162 children under ten years of age account for about 26. 6 per cent of the total population, and 58. 92 per cent of the population comes from the group 18 years or over.[7]

When examined closely, other sources giving earlier statistics show more serious signs of unreliability. The data offered in 1948 by the Bureau of Statistics of the Central Government at Nanking, for example, were based on a random sampling of only twenty municipalities and hsien, of which five were in East China. The ratio between the sampled and the total area is about 1:100. Furthermore, the age-group breakdown figures do not tally with the totals. Assuming that much of this could have been copyist's errors, the approximate age-group distrubition of population in the East China Region in the 1930's would be as follows:

[See next page for chart.]

7. People's Daily, Nov. 1, 1954, p. 3.

Table 4. Age Composition */ of East China Population in the 1930's

• 162

Age	Percentage of Total
0-10	20.0
10-30	36.5
30-60	35.0
60 or over	8.5

*/ Based on statistics in The Economic Situation in Fukien; Ju-heng Chao, Chiang-su-sheng Chien [Gazeteer of Kiangsu], Shanghai: Hsin Chung-kuo chien-she hsueh-hui, 1935; Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking Bureau of Statistics, 1948.

The above figures indicate that now there may be more children under 10 years of age in East China than there were twenty years ago. There is no way to determine whether the older age group (above 60 years old) has increased. However, the life span of the average Chinese could not have greatly increased during the past two decades in view of the death rate and other prevailing factors. Of the 1954 estimated population in the United States, about 21 per cent is under 10 years of age, a higher proportion than in Table 4 but a lower proportion than that of China today. The U.S. group 60 years old and over amounts to about 12 per ent of the total population, which is consider-

•/62 ably higher than its Chinese counterpart.[8]

B. Sex Ratio

The national average sex ratio derived from the 1953 census is 107.55 males for every 100 females. Although there is no regional information to test if this average represents a true picture of the East China Region today, a comparison with earlier surveys suggests that this region possibly remains close to the national average.

Table 6. Sex Ratio in East China Population (1948) */

(Number of males per hundred females)

Anhwei	112.04
Chekiang	111. 93
Fukien	107.44
Kiangsu	106.42
Shantung	99.00
Shanghai Municipality	123.78
Regional Average	103.44

*/ Based on Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China.

8. World Almanac, 1955.

162 Table 6 makes it clear that, taken as a whole, there were more males than females in the East China Region in 1948. It also contradicts the theory maintained by some earlier Occidental writers that there are no old bachelors in China, especially when we realize that the people in East China traditionally abhor polyandry and that the practice of polygamy may well have had a slow death. The only obviously irregular line in the sex pattern expressed in Table 6 is the male-female ratio of the Shantung population. The emigration of males to the northeast will be discussed in the following pages.

847 Peking claims the complete elimination of infanticide, which had victimized the infant girls in many sections of China. Although the thoroughness of the measures taken to eliminate infanticide may be questioned, there is evidence that infant girls do have a better chance to live than they did some years ago. Peking also makes a conscious effort to relocate laborers with their families. In the long run, these measures will tend to check imbalance in the sex ratio, and it is quite possible that the situation in Shantung Province is being improved.

C. Rural and Urban Population

162 As a corollary to their persistent claim of industrialization in China, the Communists have been insisting on the trend of an increase in urban population. According to Peking, an upward trend has been generally observed in most cities; and in some extreme cases

162 populations have doubled or trebled within the past five years. A 40 per cent increase in population since 1948 is said to be the average. However, the same Peking officials said in 1953 that on the national average, 86.74 per cent of the population is rural and 13.26 per cent is urban.

[See following page for chart.]

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Table 7. Rural and Urban Population in East China (1948)*

	Percentage of Total	
	Rural	Urban
Anhwei	67.59	32.41
Chekiang	70.25	29.75
Fukien	64.63	35.37
Kiansu	69.51	30.36
Shantung	84.97	15.03
Shanghai Municipality	-----	100.00
Regional Average	70.97	29.03

*/ Based on Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, and The Yearbook of China, Taipei, Chung-hua min-kuo nien-chien she, 1953. The municipality of Shanghai was no longer in 1948 the old city of Shanghai located a short distance to the south.

•162 Without explaining the criterion upon which the 1953 percentage figures were compiled, the announcement would seem to contradict the claim of an increase in urban population, especially when we compare it with earlier announcements.

[See following page for Table 8 .]

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Table 8. Population in Shanghai and New York City*

Year	Population	
	Shanghai	New York City
1880's	129,000	1,911,698
1900	352,020	3,437,202
1910	1,185,000	4,766,883
1920	1,605,276	5,620,048
1930	3,023,111	6,930,446
1950	5,406,644	7,891,957
1953	6,204,417	--------

*/ The Shanghai population figures are from Ko Sui-ch'eng, Chung-kuo Ti-li Hsin-chih [New Geography of China] , Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chu, 1940. Shang-hai Chih-nan [Guide to Shanghai] , Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1925. (Gazeteer of Kiangsi, The Atlas of the People's Republic of China by Province.

•162 Chinese and Occidental students of China have agreed that the cause of the sudden growth of Shanghai's population is, in the main, the rapid industrialization of that metropolis as the only convenient port serving the huge hinterland of the Yangtze River Valley and delta. It is to be recalled, however, that in the particular case of Shanghai there has been a serious industrial and business recession during and immediately after the Communist occupation. We may, with reason, doubt the Communist claim that such a recession had no effect on the population growth in Shanghai, and we certainly may ask why, with the admitted serious unemployment situation in Shanghai in early 1950[9], the increase in Shanghai's population was expected to continue uninterrupted. The population figure could become more questionable if we give credence to reports from anti-Communist sources on food shortages in Shanghai, which supposedly have been driving people out of that city.[10]

There has been no recent survey on the professional composition of the population in the East China Region. Earlier surveys, wherever available, are incomplete. Therefore it is with understandable misgivings that the following figures on two of the five provinces in this region are offered for reference:

[See following page for Table 9.]

9. Chung-kuo Kung-jen [Chinese Worker Monthly], Peking, June 15, 1950, p. 85.

10. Ya-chou Tien-hsün [Asia Foundation News Bulletin], San Francisco, Aug. 12 1955.

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Table 9. Professional Composition
of Population in Fukien and Kiangsu (by percentage) *

	Fukien (1947)	Kiangsu (1938)
Farmers	42.2	51.1
Merchants	4.3	6.2
Workers	3.2	9.8
Unemployed	18.6	4.1
Others	31.7	28.8

*/ Based on information in The Economic Situation in Fukien, and Gazeteer of Kiangsu.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1d, Sociological Background

ETHNIC GROUPS

563 Ethnic minorities are herein defined as groups bound together by common ties of race, nationality, or culture, living together within an alien civilization but remaining culturally distinct. The Chinese Communists, following the practice of the USSR, have termed the ethnic minorities within the Chinese territory "nationalities" "national minorities," or "minority nationalities" in juxtaposition to the Han nationality. Therefore, the term "nationality" as used in China today is a designation for an ethnic and geographical community. Owing to the fact that the Hui people, neither racially homogeneous nor concentrated in one area, are also regarded as a separate nationality by the Chinese Communists, the reason for such a classifications seems to be the presence of customary laws and practices peculiar to a group of common origin which have, over a period of time, regulated its standard of behavior and given rise to group consciousness and distinctive characteristics. It is on this same broad principle that we base our classification of the ethnic groups of China. Accordingly, the Han Chinese, though by far the great majority of the Chinese population (94%), are also considered as one of the many ethnic groups in China.

I. INTRODUCTION

•16a East China is populated predominantly by Han Chinese who came from North China, especially during the periods 265-618 and 906-1280 A.D., when North China was invaded by the northern tribes.[1] Since 617, official Chinese histories have not

1. Li Chi, The Formation of the Chinese People, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1928, pp. 165-166, 237.

162 mentioned any "barbarians" even in the two southernmost provinces of East China, Chekiang and Fukien.[2] This fact does not indicate that there have not been remnants of non-Han ethnic groups in East China but that most of them have adopted Han Chinese culture.[3]

II. THE HAN CHINESE

162 144 The Han Chinese in East China can be divided into two groups according to the different elements assimilated. Those north of the Yangtze River are taller and more akin to the Han Chinese in North China in racial composition, an admixture of Han Chinese and northern tribal elements such as the Tungus, Hsien-pei, Hsiung-nu, Nü-chen, Mongol, and Manchu. (See the chapter on Historical Setting.) Those south of the Yangtze River, particularly in the provinces of Chekiang and Fukien, are an admixture of the Han Chinese and the aborigines known in the earliest records as Tung Yüeh in Chekiang and Min Yüeh in Fukien,[4] and in later records as Yao in general. (For cultural characteristics of the Han Chinese in East China, see the chapters on Family and Social Structure.)

III. NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS

A. The She of Chekiang and Fukien

During the early Han Chinese migration from North China, the Wu-i Range blocked the

2. Ibid., pp. 249-250.

3. Those who refused to adopt Han Chinese culture migrated southward into Kwangtung and Kwangsi. 4. [see next page]

•162 144 drive east toward the Sea. Fukien and southern Chekiang were thus by-passed by the Han Chinese, who settled in Kiangsi, Kwangtung, and Kwangsi long before they reached Chekiang and Fukien.[5] In addition, the people of the mountainous area in Fukien and Southern Chekiang, having developed a fairly high degree of political organization by third century B.C., were able to put off direct Han Chinese rule for a longer period of time than people in areas to the west of it, i.e., Kiangsi and Hunan.[6] The southward exodus of the aborigines, who made way for the Han Chinese, was in fact never completed, and today descendants of the aborigines are still to be found in Fukien and southern Chekiang. They are a branch of the

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4. Compared with the Chinese in South and Southwest China, the northern Chinese are generally taller, have longer and larger heads, relatively lower foreheads and cheekbones, lighter skins, and a less pronounced development of the almond-shaped eyes. Although the northern Chinese are more uniform in appearance than their compatriots in South and Southwest China, they are still a very mixed group; and the fact that they speak a more or less common dialect by no means indicates lack of diversity in their ethnic composition. Li Chi, op. cit., p. 167.

5. Harold Wiens, China's March toward the Tropics, Hamden Conn., The Shoe String Press 1954, p. 8.

6. Ibid., pp. 276-277.

962 Yao people mentioned in Chinese historical
144 records, and are related to the Yao people in Kwangsi. Today, these remaining aborigines are called She Yao, Hsia, or more commonly, She.

162 The total She population is now estimated at 200,000. The great majority are found in Fukien particularly in the Wu-i mountain region of Chien-ning and Ch'ang-ting districts. Only about 44,000 are at present living in the southern section of the Kuo-ts'ang mountain chains near Li-shui in Chekiang Province.[8] Lan, Lei, Chung, and P'an are the four surnames of the She people; intermarriage is approved only
241 among families bearing these names.[9] They are poor slash-and-burn farming folks like the Miao and Yao in South China. (This type of agriculture entails burning off the natural vegetation on the mountain slopes to enrich the soil for planting; but the fertility of the soil is exhausted after two to four years, and the farmer
197 must move on.) Those who work for the Han landlords usually speak the local Chinese dialects.[10]

563 Regionally as well as nationally, the She people are still as much neglected by the Communist administration as they were during

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7. The Yao people of Chekiang and Fukien fled to remote mountain regions after the Yao suppression campaign of Wang Shou-jen during the Ming dynasty. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

563 previous regimes. When the People's Government celebrates its national holidays in Peking, no She representatives are present. Nor are the She people mentioned in the activities of minority ethnic groups in East China.[11] This could mean either that successful She individuals are weaned away by the prevailing Han Chinese culture and lose their identity as She or that among the She people there are not enough leaders to claim a separate identity.

B. The Hui of Shantung.

• 162 In East China the Hui people can be found in cities like Shanghai, Nanking, and Ch'ien-chou (in Fukien); but most of them are found in the province of Shantung.[12]

563 Like the Hui people elsewhere in China, the Hui in Shantung trace their descent from Arabian and Iranian soldiers and merchants who moved into China from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries and who intermarried with the Han Chinese, and from Han Chinese children adopted by Hui families. Today, the Hui people in general continue to intermarry with the Han Chinese. However, when a Han Chinese wishes to marry a Hui woman, he must embrace Islam, whereas a Han woman who wishes to marry a Hui man need not change her religion.

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11. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, September 30, 1950; October 23, 1950.

12. There are many Moslem peoples in China of which the Hui is one. Other Moslem peoples include the Uigurs, Kazaks, Mongol Moslems, and Tibetan Moslems. →

563 Although different ancestry sets apart the Hui people from the Han Chinese, lack of racial prejudice on the part of the Hui facilitates the assimilation of Han Chinese into the Hui community and renders the racial composition of the Hui more or less similar to that of the Han Chinese around them. The cohesiveness of the Hui people in East China is attributable to factors other than racial and physical similarity. Their religion (Islam, called Hui Chiao or Ch'ing-chen Chiao), language (Chinese, supplemented by Iranian and Arabic elements of a religious nature), and customs which stem from religious practices and observances make them cohesive as an ethnic group in spite of outside cultural forces and the fact that in Shantung the Hui generally do not have large and contiguous communities. Most of the Hui people in Shantung live in Lin-ch'ing, Chi-ning, Chou-ch'eng, P'eng-lai, and cities along the railways.[13]

[771] [162]

The Kuomintang Government seemed to take for granted that the Hui people were sufficiently assimilated into Han Chinese communities and did not merit recognition as a separate ethnic group. In the 1930's the Hui were treated merely as "believers in Islam," and their ethnic difference was minimized. The present Communist government has reversed the Kuomintang

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There are about 3.5 million Hui people in China. Information on the numerical strength of the Hui people in East China is not yet available.

13. Huang Tse-ts'ang, Shantung, Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chü, 1935, pp. 99-100.

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563 According to a report at a meeting held by the Hui Cultural Association at Peking, ten autonomous hsien and chou have been established for the Hui people in China.[16] The scattered Hui communities in different parts of Shantung have their representatives in local governments under the present Communist regime. There are indications, however, that the Hui people in Li-ch'eng, Shantung, probably have their own government.[17] If this is the case, Li-ch'eng's autonomous government would be the only one of its kind outside Northwest China and Inner Mongolia.

C. The Tan People in Fukien

563 162 A Communist publication lists the Tan people as one of the minority nationalities in Fukien. The Tan people are boatmen on the lower Min River, near Foochow. In physical appearance they are indistinguishable from the rest of the Fukienese population.[18] Their numerical strength is unknown.

IV. POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE COMMUNISTS

563 657 Communist cadres working among ethnic minorities elsewhere in China are cautioned against exhibiting Han Chinese chauvinism in order not to arouse the "narrow nationalism" of ethnic minorities; in East China, no such caution has so far been voiced. Communist ethnic

16. NCNA, April 15, 1955, Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 1031, April 20, 1955, Hong Kong, American Consulate Gen'l, pp. 32-33.

17. People's Daily, April 28, 1954.

18. Ch'u Shao-t'ang, Hsin Chung-kuo Ti-li [Geography of New China], Shanghai, Ta-chung t'u-shu chü, 1953, pp. 159-160.

369 villages. Town and citydwellers -- perhaps 20% of China's population -- kept their ties with their native villages returned there whenever possible and many saw commercial activity in the town only as means to the acquisition of sufficient wealth to buy farming land and return to the village.[11] The town population, then was [162] mostly made up of artisans and peasants plus a small number of landlords retired officials county functionaries and established merchant [634] families. The county seats (hsien capitals) were the centers for tax collection and administration of the surrounding farm-villages and also served as market towns where the peasant might sell his crop and purchase the manufactured goods he could not produce.

369 Town life for the average artisan was as
511 meager as that of his relatives in the village. Long hours hard work low pay few holidays were the lot of most and living conditions were generally poorer and more crowded than those [1466] in the villages. Proprietors of many shops required their employees to live on the premises so that they seldom visited their families. The [262] diet of the town dweller was as poor as that of the poor farmer -- mostly cereals vegetables, and some condiments and meat and fruit on
369 holidays only. Brief holidays were allowed at the New Year the Ch'ing-ming festival the
527 mid-Autumn festival, and the Dragon Boat festival. On these occasions townspeople usually tried to return to their villages; if this was impossible they enjoyed such delicacies as they could afford and strolled the streets, perhaps

11. Cf. Cressey Land of the 500 Million, pp. 18-19. The 1953 Communist census credits cities and towns (undefined) with 13.26% of the Mainland population. Ibid., p. 18. [p.218]

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	SHANTUNG	KIANGSU	ANHWEI	CHEKIANG	FUKIEN
Population	48,876,192	41,252,192	30,343,637	28,865,747	13,142,721
Area (square kilometers). . .	140,000	100,000	144,000	102,000	120,000

Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, November 1, 1954, p. 1; Chung-hua Jen-min Kung-ho-kuo Fen-sheng Ti-t'u [Atlas of the People's Republic of China by Provinces], Shanghai, Ti-t'u ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 19.

I. GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE IN THE COMMUNIST PRE-CONSTITUTION PERIOD

The beginning of Communist rule in these provinces can be dated from the Communits capture of their capitals: (1) Tsinan, capital of Shantung, Sept. 26, 1948; (2) Nanking, capital of the Nationalist Government, April 23, 1949, and Shanghai, city of Kiangsu, May 27, 1949; (3) An ch'ing (Anking), old capital of

1; Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China AF15

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3a,
Economic Background

AGRICULTURE

241 Because it has a mild climate and abundant rainfall, East China is able to produce a tremendous amount of grain each year. In terms of production, the region occupies second place in the country, next only to Central-South China. It also produces a considerable amount of cotton and ramie. The outstanding feature of East China's agriculture is its dominant position in the production of raw silk and tea. The raw silk of Chekiang and Kiangsu and the tea of Chekiang and Anhwei are not only famous in China but renowned throughout the world for 228 their quality. East China is rich in its fishery resources, because it possesses the longest coastline and plenty of inland streams, which are the sources for both salt-water and fresh-water fishing.

I. CULTIVATED LAND AND RURAL POPULATION

• 162 According to the recent census,[1] completed on June 30, 1953, by the Communist government, the total population of East China, including Shanghai Municipality, is 156 million. If we

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1. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking 1, 1954, p. 1.

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Table I. Cultivated Land and Rural Population of East China*

(S = Shih-mou)
(Unit: 1,000 A = Acres)

Province	1946					1955				
	Cultivated Land	Rural Population	Farm Households	Shih-mou per Household	Shih-mou per Capita	Cultivated Land	Rural Population	Farm Households	Shih-mou per Household	Shih-mou per Capita
Kiangsu	85,296S (13,616A)	28,080	5,057	16.87 (2.81A)	3.40 (0.57A)	110,296S (18,383A)	35,477	7,095	15.54 (2.59A)	3.11 (0.52A)
Chekiang	41,655S (6,944A)	14,020	3,166	13.16 (2.19A)	2.97 (0.49A)	55,655S (9,276A)	19,665	3,933	14.15 (2.36A)	2.83 (0.47A)
Anhwei	73,128S (12,188A)	16,182	2,682	27.27 (4.54A)	4.52 (0.80A)	93,028S (15,505A)	26,096	5,219	17.82 (2.97A)	3.56 (0.59A)
Shantung	100,458S (16,743A)	33,024	5,918	16.97 (2.83A)	3.04 (0.51A)	100,662S (16,777A)	42,034	8,407	11.97 (2.00A)	2.39 (0.40A)
Fukien	21,094S (3,516A)	7,202	1,626	12.97 (2.16A)	2.93 (0.49A)	23,204S (3,867A)	11,303	2,261	10.21 (1.70A)	2.04 (0.34A)
Total (or Average)	321,631S (53,604A)	94,508	18,448	17.43 (2.91A)	3.43 (0.57A)	382,841S (63,806A)	134,575	26,915	14.22 (2.37A)	2.84 (0.47A)

*1946 statistical figures are based on Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien 1948 [The Statistical Year Book of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 70-71. For 1955 data: (1) the rural population figures are from the census of 1953, New China News Agency release of November 1, 1954; (2) the area figures are based on Chung-hua Jen-min Kung-ho-kuo Fen-sheng Ti-t'u [Atlas of the People's Republic of China by Provinces], Shanghai, Ti-t'u ch'u-pan-she, 1953; (3) the farm household figures are based on a report made by Premier Chou En-lai, New China News Agency release of September 24, 1954.

(Table 1 faces p. 739.)

162 calculate the relation of the rural to the urban population by the ratio of 86 to 14, the figure of the rural population amounts to about 135 million, leaving 21 million city dwellers.[2] How the Communists arrived at this arbitrary ratio for rural and urban population had not been explained.

162 311 The average acreage per farm household and per capita is even lower in 1955 than in 1946, because of the increase in rural population. The comparison of these marked changes is shown in shih-mou with equivalent acres given in parentheses in Table 1.

2. Ibid.

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

361 politan limits, and the Chinese economy on which its trade is based
177 remains far from integrated or commercialized, while railways are still perhaps China's most notable lack.

361 But Shanghai lies near the seaward face of the Yangtze delta,
439 where the extensive water routes of a great river system are gathered
177 into a knot, and where the coast of China extends farthest into the open sea. Goods which different local areas produced and for which foreign traders found overseas markets could thus move out for export through Shanghai, and foreign goods entering China in return could be distributed over a wide area from the city. Shanghai thereby became the commercial center for virtually all of the Yangtze basin, which includes the most populous and productive half of China. Not only did trade flow through the city, but Shanghai also became one of the world's leading financial centers. Its banks financed the Chinese government as well as the economic life of the city and of its commercial hinterland of half of China and all the Chinese ports. They controlled "at a very conservative estimate 90 per cent of the imports and exports between China and foreign countries."[1] As manufacturing developed in the city during the twentieth century, aided by the accumulation there of foreign and Chinese capital earned in trade, it was able to compete successfully with other manufacturing centers, despite the local absence of most industrial raw materials, because of the ease and cheapness of water transport for the materials of manufacturing brought from more distant places. Finally, Shanghai's four million people could be fed largely from rice produced in the fertile Yangtze delta.

361 Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the city is simply its size.
162 Dense populations have long been associated with deltas, and in
177 southeast Asia nearly all of the notable population concentrations are on fertile deltaic soils where ample water is available for the irrigation of paddy rice. Each of the major deltas in southeast Asia also supports the largest or second largest city in its political unit (Hanoi, Saigon, Bankok, Rangoon, and Calcutta). But none of these cities approaches Shanghai in size; Calcutta, the largest, has a population of only about two and a half millions.

361 Two outstanding locational factors distinguish Shanghai from
439 other delta cities in the lower and lower-middle latitudes: its central

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

handicapped in its commercial and industrial growth by the very small extent of its frontage on the Whangpoo, on which most of the city's traffic moves, and French access to this waterfront was impeded by the interposition of the old Chinese city, which remained under Chinese control and through which no adequate roads were ever built. Just as important a handicap was the lack of navigable creeks running through the Settlement, since these have remained basic transport arteries in the modern economy of the city and have been important in locating many of its functions. Siccawei Creek (map 3) runs along part of the Settlement's southern border, but leaves it well before it enters the Whangpoo, and it has attracted industry along its southern bank rather than in the French Settlement. Finally, the French area is on the south side of the city, away from the Yangtze and the major industrial development reaching downriver toward Woosung, and upstream from the part of the harbor where ocean ships can dock.

Thus with the new addition in 1914, a relatively unoccupied area, free from industrial nuisances, but near to the center of the city and under the protection of foreign law and administration, was available for residential occupance at about the time when the suburban problem became acute. In addition to providing agreeable space for upper-income housing, it increasingly served as the entertainment center for the city and as a home for Chinese political figures in temporary retirement or for wealthy Chinese criminals who profited from the laxness of the French authorities and the ambiguous legal status of the Settlement. "Frenchtown," as the foreign residents of Shanghai called it, was famous before the war as the home of every variety of legal and illegal entertainment enterprise, as well as of most of the wealthy foreigners and Chinese in Shanghai.

Population Figures

Caution is the rule in the use of any statistics pertaining to China, and Shanghai, despite its measure of foreign control, is not an exception. The overwhelming majority of the city's population has always been Chinese (graphs 1 and 2), and census figures compiled by both the National Government and the Shanghai Municipal Council are admittedly estimates. In addition to the inaccuracy of

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

totals at any one period, interpretation of the census figures must also consider the large-scale fluctuations in the city's population due to its role as a haven of security for Chinese (and, during the 1930's, foreign) refugees during periods of political unrest, and its subsequent loss of most of this floating population when order has been restored. The city has also contained at every period a large but unmeasured population of homeless Chinese and of Chinese families living in boats moored on the numerous creeks which dissect the city.

An accurate census of the foreign residents in the foreign settlements was not taken until 1870, when the Chinese population within and without the settlements was estimated in addition. This method of obtaining accurate figures for the foreigners and rough estimates for the Chinese continued until 1928, when the Shanghai Municipal Council began a yearly census for the entire city, using the machinery and figures of the Chinese government of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai for a count of the Chinese population outside the Settlements, with the understanding that these figures were only one step from rough estimates toward accurate counts. Since the foreign total for the whole city never exceeded 60,000, it is apparent that the grand totals for each period are guesswork.

One further factor has made population totals inaccurate: political limits of the foreign settlements have never coincided with conurbation limits. From 1870 to 1928, when the Municipality of Greater Shanghai was organized, Chinese residents of the conurbation outside the Settlements had constituted from one-half to two-thirds of the total population of the city, while after 1928 the new Municipality included much larger areas of farm land than of built-up area. Existing population figures for Shanghai, and the compilation made in graph 1 probably err on the conservative side.

Until 1895 Shanghai remained almost exclusively a trading city, with a consequent population which never exceeded half a million. The peak shown in graph 1 for the years 1860 to 1865 represents the influx of refugees from civil disorder attendant on the Taiping Rebellion. While the population doubled between 1843 and 1895 as a result of foreign-organized trade, this growth was slight compared with the increase which followed on the development of modern

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

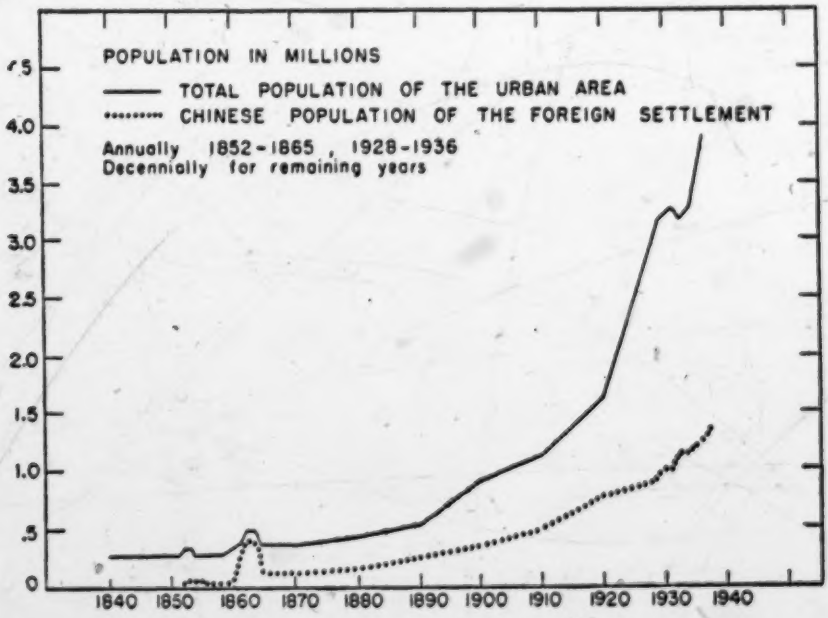
manufacturing in the city after 1895. The removal of overseas competition in the China and southeast Asia markets during the first world war gave this development a strong impetus and added to Shanghai's population some three millions to maintain the expanded economic activity in which mass Chinese labor was now the key. The prevalence of small-scale and under-capitalized industry in the city and the nature of industrial organization in China also meant that proportionately larger amounts of labor were necessary in Shanghai to maintain this industrial development than had been necessary to maintain the city's earlier and primarily trading activities.

Population figures after 1936 are increasingly inaccurate and are greatly affected by the alternate crowding and evacuating of the city by refugees from Japanese hostilities. It is probable that the total population rose to well over four million by 1941, and that it dropped to approximately the 1936 figure during the period of Japanese occupation after 1941. The influx of returning Chinese refugees beginning in 1945 probably boosted the population to its highest total in the city's history (variously estimated by the foreign press as between five and a half and six millions). Subsequent emigration from the unprecedently crowded city during 1946 and 1947 may have been nearly balanced by a new influx of refugees from threatened and actual Communist military operations in the hinterland during 1948 and 1949. The city's trade is still greatly reduced under Communist administration and under the Nationalist blockade and subsequent embargo by members of the United Nations. During 1949 Communist authorities offered free passage to their native towns in the hinterland to all refugees in Shanghai, and the offer was apparently accepted by about 400,000 of them.[2] It is likely that by the end of 1951 the city's population had dropped from the peak in 1946 to between four and a half and five millions.

The foreign population did not reach 1,000 until 1860, nearly twenty years after the city's opening to foreign trade in 1843, and until the end of the century its growth was slow (graph 2). Foreigners filled executive posts in the foreign-owned trading houses and provided specialized services such as medical care, legal and financial business, missionary work, and consular offices, but the great major-

162 ity of services were performed by the Chinese, including the lower-ranking employees of the foreign trading firms. The development of manufacturing in Shanghai created a need for larger numbers of foreigners, to serve as technicians and administrators, and to operate the expanded banking and financial structure which industrial development required. And as trade increased with the growth of

POPULATION OF SHANGHAI, 1840-1936



Graph 1

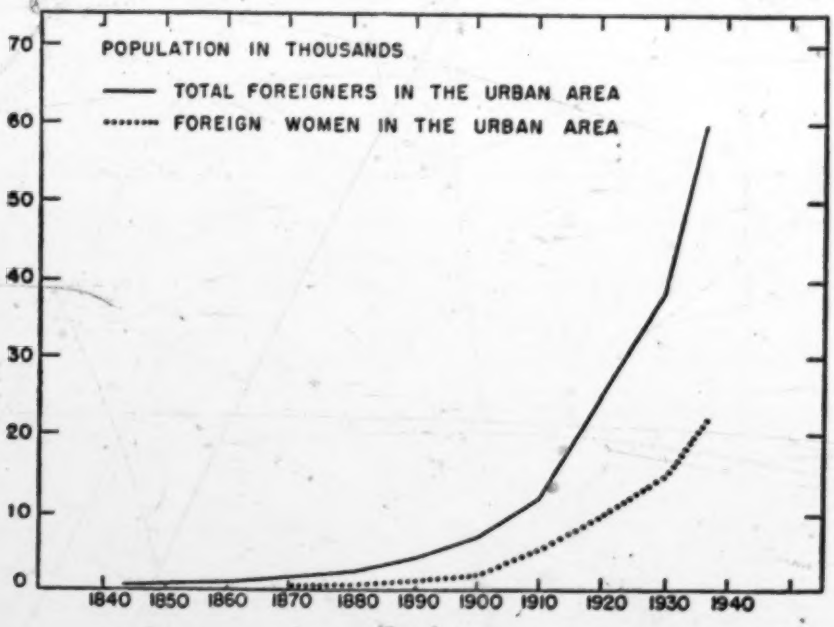
manufacturing and the widening of the China market for Western-type goods, a growing volume and variety of foreign imports were marketed in Shanghai and distributed from there throughout China by foreign firms.

167 In the period between the two world wars, Shanghai became a
162 refuge haven for foreigners as well as for Chinese due to its ambiguous political status as an international oasis far removed in distance from political and racial problems in Europe. First to come there in large numbers were Russian refugees from the Bolshevik revolu-

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

tion, nearly a thousand annually from 1919 to 1930. After 1933, refugees from Nazi Germany found that Shanghai was the only world port which could be entered and resided in without a passport, and those who could afford the long trip formed a growing separate community in the city after 1934, many of them dependent on foreign charity.

FOREIGN POPULATION OF SHANGHAI, 1843-1936



Graph 2

In 1936 the approximate foreign total of 60,000 had as its most important constituents 20,000 Japanese, 15,000 Russians (predominantly White refugees), 9,000 British (who until about 1912, when they were surpassed by the Japanese, had always been the largest non-Chinese national group in Shanghai), 5,000 Germans and Austrians (most of them recent refugees), 4,000 Americans, and 2,500 French.[3] Foreign women were scarce before 1870 (graph 2) and never constituted much more than a third of the foreign total. Their presence did little to alter the prevailing adventurer's attitude of the

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF18

foreign community. It was only after 1900, when the Japanese became one of the leading groups in the foreign community, that the proportion of foreign women reached even a third.

The Japanese are Shanghai's nearest foreign neighbors, and with their industrial experience and their drive for economic expansion overseas, they made Shanghai one of their most important industrial centers, especially for the manufacture of cotton textiles, taking advantage of relatively cheap Chinese labor, locally grown cotton, and cheap power to produce for the China market inside the low tariff wall. The Treaty of Shiminoseki in 1895, which ended the war of 1894–5 between China and Japan over Korea, first granted to foreigners the right to establish factories in the treaty ports of China, and this originally Japanese privilege was then taken advantage of by all the other powers having most-favored-nation treaty agreements with China.

Despite foreign investments, however, Shanghai remained a Chinese city, still politically dominated by the handful of foreigners, but economically more and more maintained by the Chinese, as native industrial and commercial capital and management were increasingly added to native labor in the growing industry of the city during the twentieth century.*

Shanghai and China

Throughout the period 1843–1937, the foreigners at Shanghai pressed the Chinese authorities for an extension of their own administrative powers and of the area of the two foreign settlements. In this endeavour they found lukewarm support or outright opposition from the foreign diplomatic representatives at Peking and from the foreign offices in the home countries, who shied away from the implications of full sovereignty over Chinese territory and who continually reminded the overzealous foreigners in Shanghai of their precarious and equivocal legal position in asserting "rights" of taxation, defense, and administrative independence. The complex political and economic structure of modern Shanghai was erected primarily on the precedents resulting from bluff, maneuver, and *force majeure* of the assertive foreign residents of the city.

* A majority of the city's industrial enterprises were Chinese-owned by at least 1920.

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

FOUR

Location

Shanghai's Hinterland

"The first and most natural root of a great city is the labour and populousness of the adjacent country, which supplies the materials of subsistence, of manufactures, and of foreign trade." [1] Shanghai is a great city primarily because it stands at the apex of the most fertile and populous area of comparable size anywhere in the world, the lower Yangtze basin.

The Yangtze watershed totals 750,000,000 square miles, or half of China proper, and has a population of approximately 200,000,000. The section of the river's basin which we may call the fertile triangle, bounded by Chinkiang, Hangchow, and Shanghai, an area of about 20,000,000 square miles, has an estimated population of 40,000,000, or an overall average of about 2,000 inhabitants per square mile. Nearly 80 per cent of the total land area is cultivated (map 10), and this region stands out as one of the three most widely cultivated in China (the Red Basin of Szechuan and the north China plain being the other two). Nodes of commerce are thickly scattered over the fertile triangle, which contains three cities of over half a million population (Hangchow, Soochow, and Shanghai — map 5). The Yangtze delta supports by far the densest single concentration of population in China for an area of similar size (map 7). The river's course is marked by successive clusters of settlement, terminating westward in the densely peopled Red Basin of Szechuan.

Of the other major cities of the lower Yangtze basin, Hangchow, Soochow, and Nanking were all at one time imperial capitals, and all have remained important commercial and industrial centers. Hangchow and Soochow are still among the three or four leading cities in China in silk reeling and weaving, and both act as central places for the surrounding rice and silk areas of the delta. Nanking

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

of the trade especially of the northwest (Kansu and Shensi) and the north China plain south of the Huang moves through Shanghai. 504

Along the Yangtze itself, potential ports for ocean shipping must contend not only with the Fairy Flats in the Yangtze estuary, as does Shanghai, but with silting problems and river currents farther upstream. Chinkiang, at the head of the delta, has been crippled as an ocean port by silting. Nanking, where silting is an equally great problem, has relatively few water connections with its hinterland. Hankow and Kiukiang-Hukow profit from their location where major tributaries join the master stream, but their harbors are relatively small and shallow. Hankow, despite its location and the all-year channel for 5,000-ton ships from the sea, has never been an important rival of Shanghai in either foreign or domestic trade. The other Yangtze ports do not stand at notable route foci, and their harbours are equally handicapped for space and depth. Navigation on [133] the river and within its unsheltered harbors must cope with a summer current averaging nearly five knots at Hankow and nearly four at Nanking. These confined waters are difficult and costly for deep-draft ocean shipping, especially in terms of insurance rates.

Shanghai's trade hinterland is the largest in the world. Nowhere 162 ● else does a population or area of this size depend for its commercial intercourse on one master river system and one primate city. The accompanying table compares the estimated populations of China's major cities and ports in 1930.[9]

Shanghai	3,300,000	Nanchang	500,000
Peking	1,400,000	Wenchow	450,000
Tientsin	1,300,000	Tsingtao	350,000
Hankow	1,200,000	Tsinan	300,000
Canton	950,000	Amoy	250,000
Hong Kong	800,000	Ningpo	250,000
Nanking	650,000	Chinkiang	200,000
Changsha	600,000	Swatow	200,000
Chungking	600,000	Weihaiwei	200,000
Foochow	500,000	Chefoo	100,000
Soochow	500,000	Haichow	20,000
Hangchow	500,000		

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

459 in Shanghai, and visited it again late in 1848, this time under commission from the British East India Company to introduce the tea shrub into India. (He also made two later trips to the Yangtze basin, in 1853–1856 and 1861–62.) He was as much taken with the natural advantages of the place as Lindsay had been, and provided a neat and prophetic summary of the factors which have been responsible for Shanghai's growth:

> No other town with which I am acquainted possesses such advantages. It is the great gate to the Chinese empire and a place of vast native trade . . . The convenience of inland transit is unrivalled in any part of the world. The country is one vast plain intersected by many rivers, and these again joined and crisscrossed by canals, many of them nearly natural and others stupendous works of art. The port of Shanghai swarms with boats of all sizes employed in the inland traffic. Since the port has been opened these boats bring down large quantities of tea and silk and return loaded with the manufactures of Europe and America which they have taken in exchange. From what we know of the geographic nature of the country there can be no doubt that all the green teas and most of the black can be brought to Shanghai at less expense than they can be taken to Canton or any of the southern towns. The large silk districts of central China are also close at hand. The proximity of Shanghai to the large towns of Hangchow, Soochow, and Nanking forms a further advantage. Lastly, viewing this place as an immense mart for our cotton manufactures, which we already know it to be, there can be no doubt that in a few years it will not only rival Canton but become a place of far greater importance.[18]

162 Fortune however estimated the population of Shanghai in 1843 as only 270,000, while he gave figures of one million for Hangchow and about 500,000 for Soochow, Nanking, and Ningpo. He credited six other delta cities with populations equal to Shanghai's (Sungchiang, Chiating, Changshu, Kashing, Huchow, and Wusih — map 5).

361 Chinese Shanghai had risen as the port of Soochow, from a small fishing village at the junction of Soochow Creek and the Whangpoo. When silting, and presumably advance of the coastline, made maritime access to Soochow impossible by the eleventh century A.D. despite the canalizing of the Creek's lower course in

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

A.D. 446, ships began to dock at Shanghai, or Hu Tu as it was then called and in 1075 an official was stationed there to administer the customs. In 1279 the town, now called Shanghai (which may be translated as meaning "up from the sea") declared itself independent of Soochow and sent its taxes direct to Peking. It was however still too small in the thirteenth century to be mentioned by Marco Polo, who gave a detailed account of all cities of importance in south coastal China. The city walls were built in 1544 following the sacking and burning of the city in the preceding year by Japanese pirates.[19]

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Shanghai was the principal port of the Yangtze basin, and was also the center of the coastal trade between north and south China. Southern junks were not permitted to trade north of Shanghai, and vice versa. (This official regulation may have been influenced by the difference in the nature of the coast north and south of the city.) In 1812 the official gazetteer of Shanghai estimated the population of the *hsien* (county), which included an area of about 400 square miles, at 528,000.* Despite its commercial prominence, it did not seriously rival the older delta cities in size because they were in varying degrees administrative centers, a function which Shanghai has always lacked beyond its own metropolitan limits. They were as well or better situated for domestic or regional trade, but administration more than commerce was the consistent basis of urban existence and growth in the bureaucratic framework of traditional China.

Shanghai before 1843 had grown primarily on the trade of its immediate delta hinterland: tea, silk, cotton, and rice, and on its key position in the coasting trade which enabled it to act as an entrepôt and to distribute goods received by sea within the densely populated delta. But the wider water network, both sea and river, of which it stands at the focus was not fully exploited. It remained for foreign traders and foreign economic organization, implemented by the steamship, to realize the geographic potential of Shanghai's location.

* Ch'ing dynasty population figures of this period are, however, suspect, partly because of the practice of padding the census in order to impress the emperor with the prosperity resulting from his reign.

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

505 not only depended heavily on seaborne supplies, but which had a
439 large and important transit trade.

As if in a commentary on the nature of the city's food supply,
433 food, in particular rice, has remained cheap and plentiful throughout the period of Communist control. Order was quickly restored in the delta in 1949, and the flow of low-cost food to the city was maintained despite a nearly universal food shortage or famine in the rest of China during the winter of 1949–50, and despite the Nationalist blockade, which prevented any substantial amounts of food from arriving in the city by sea. The Communist Government has apparently been able to solve, at least to a degree, the problem of local rice supply during the planting season and at festival periods, by controlling prices and arranging for large government purchases which are released on the market at stable prices whenever the situation requires. There is no suggestion that local food supplies are not entirely adequate to meet the city's demands under such a
• [162] system of management. While no official figures have been released, it is unlikely that Shanghai's population is substantially less than the four millions it had reached in 1936; it may have risen closer to the five million mark, since the great influx of people after the Japanese war has not apparently been balanced by the still limited exodus.*

288 Nationalist bombings during the winter of 1949–50 did only minor industrial damage, and came to an end by late 1950 with the arrival of jet defense planes from the Soviet Union and the Nationalist loss of the Chusan Islands, which had been the major base for the bombings of the city. A continuing deterrent to industrial recovery however has been the still inadequate domestic production of raw cotton. Several cotton textile factories in the city were obliged to shut down entirely during 1949 and 1950 for lack of raw cotton, and while all or most of these have subsequently reopened, not enough cotton is coming in to maintain peak production.†

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poor position, and its economy has in the past been closely geared with that of the West.

* See above, p. 21. Foreign and Chinese press reports still consistently refer to Shanghai as the fourth largest city in the world, with a population given variously as 5 or 6 million.

† *Hsin-Hua Yüeh-Pao* for November 1951, 130–131, reports that while production

3: Hinder G-5 (1933-1942) 1944 AF15 East China AF15

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF EMPLOYMENT

465 THE WAGE LEVELS IN modern industry in Shanghai during its early decades were influenced by those ruling in small-scale enterprises during the pre-industrial era and by the general level of earnings in the countryside. Since these were low, the earnings of a principal wage earner in large-scale industry have never been sufficient for the needs of his family. This situation can be traced partly to the existence of a superabundance of labour supply. Considering the comparatively small cost of maintaining the low standard of living of workers' families in pre-hostility days, it would seem not to have been essential that modern industry should thus have developed on wages in general too low for the family needs.

458 In view of the severe inflation which by 1942 had so greatly affected the lives of the Chinese people whether in occupied or free China, it is fortunate that a most comprehensive and basic study of the cost and standard of living of Shanghai workers exists which was based upon budgetary enquiries over the twelve months, April 1929 to March 1930, and was conducted by the Bureau of Social Affairs of the City Government of Greater Shanghai. The study made use of the daily recorded incomes and expenditures of 305 families whose heads were manual workers.[1]

● 162 The average size of the family was found to be 4.62 persons, the equivalent of 3.28 male adults. The average number of gainfully employed persons was 2.06 per family. The significance of this figure will be understood when the family income is analysed.

465 The average annual income of the families studied was $416.51.[2]
434 Of this amount, however, the study showed that the combined
511 earnings of all family members comprised only 87.3 per cent. The

[1] The study necessitated visits by investigators to families every day for a whole year, since many were unable to record expenditures. A sample re-study was undertaken is the last months of 1941 and the beginning of 1942.

[2] All dollar figures, except where otherwise stated, refer to Chinese National Currency. The Japanese-supported Nanking regime instituted Central Reserve Bank notes in 1941 which in 1942 were declared only legal tender in Shanghai, displacing Chinese National currency at the rate of CNC $2.00 to CRB $1.00.

3: Hinder G-5 (1933-1942) 1944 AF15 East China AF15

465 633 powers, such services of advice, consultation, presentation of facts and voluntary mediation are important functions of the administrative authorities. With the full powers that the Chinese authorities will exercise in future in re-occupied Shanghai it is hoped they will be able to build upon the foundations already laid.

439 463 465 Shanghai was a city of large trading interests before it attained significance as a manufacturing centre. It was still, at the outbreak of Pacific hostilities, an important commercial city with a large export trade despite the severance of the Yangtse Valley trade after 1937. It was, prior to December 1941, the banking centre of China. After 1937 it was an important educational centre to which universities and middle schools from provincial cities had come when Sino-Japanese hostilities caused their withdrawal. There was therefore a large professional class in the community—professors, teachers, doctors, lawyers. The question of what happened to their livelihood is as significant as is the fate of the workers' economy.

A study of the standard of living of Chinese salaried employees was made in October-December 1941. So excellent a response to the request for the keeping of detailed information was made that, out of 1038 families responding, 441 perfect records were available. Originally it was intended to limit records to families with incomes below CNC$1000, but those with incomes beyond this amount so readily supplied information that the limit was waived. The majority of incomes were between CNC$500 and $1500. A Provisional Cost of Living Index was developed by May 1942 from the records of 100 families to meet the immediate need for a criterion to judge the situation in which Chinese salaried employees found themselves.

162 The average salaried family was found to be larger than the worker's family—6.60 persons, 4.72 consumption units, as against 5.02 persons, 4.41 consumption units in a worker's family as studied in December 1941-January 1942.

434 465 511 The total income of the Chinese salaried family studied averaged $688.38 per month. Earnings of the husband accounted for 84.96 per cent, those of other family members only 3.95 per cent. The salaried family, as did the workers family, had to obtain other income; 11.09 per cent came from sub-letting rooms, interest and dividends, gifts and assistance, profits on speculation and gambling.

3: Hinder G-5 (1933-1942) 1944 AF15 East China AF15

CHAPTER VII

HOUSING

OFFICIALS OF THE Shanghai Municipal Council gave much thought to the question of housing congestion in the Settlement. The Commissioner of Public Works, writing of the situation in 1935, stated:

"The poorest people of this country, through age-long poverty and hardship, have become inured to a condition of living which, in some other countries, would be thought insupportable. Overcrowding, however, is not confined to the poorest classes, nor to habitation . . . and is a vast social and economic problem which can only be solved gradually by the Chinese people. As far as Shanghai is concerned, serious overcrowding is a permanent and widespread condition from Hongkew Park to the Southern Station, and from Lay Road to Avenue Haig. Political disturbances in the past (first in 1861) have often led to an influx of refugees. It is inevitable that at such times new standards of overcrowding are established more or less permanently, and from general observation it would appear that overcrowding had increased in the past decade. Actually it is overcrowding in the first instance that makes high rents possible, and it is because of overcrowding, and the consequent high rents which have been possible with but a trivial addition to the cost of the buildings, that capitalization of the increased net rentals goes on to the land and creates a high land value that it is difficult to break down."[1]

How true these words were was to be tragically demonstrated in 1937, two years later, when the influx of refugees fleeing from hostilities was to produce worse overcrowding and higher rentals than Shanghai had ever experienced before.

According to the 1935 census figures, there were in that year 1,120,860 Chinese residents in the International Settlement or more than 99½ per cent of the total population. A count of heads for food supply purposes in February 1942 put the figure at 1,800,000, a number considerably less than generally believed. At the turn of the century, when the first count of Chinese population in the Settlement was made, their number had been 345,276. In

[1] Quoted in the *Report of the Housing Committee*, Shanghai Municipal Council, 1937.

3: Hinder G-5 (1933-1942) 1944 AF15 East China AF15

1935 there were 38,915 foreign residents, of more than fifty nationalities. In 1870 at the time of the first census of the foreign population, foreign residents had numbered 1,666, and 6,774 in 1900.

Normally 1940 should have seen the taking of the quinquennial census which had been carried out regularly since the initial years mentioned above. The Council, however, decided to dispense with census-taking in that year. Police, with whose assistance the distribution and collection of census papers were accomplished, were preoccupied in combating serious armed terroristic activities. Moreover, Chinese members of the Shanghai Municipal Police had not completely resumed their former duties in the area of the Settlement north of Soochow Creek, in which Japanese military authorities continued to exercise military functions, and without police help census-taking was not possible. Great congestion persisted in the area south of Soochow Creek, but as a result of the destruction of many dwellings in 1937 during the fighting north of the Creek, the congestion per unit area there was less than formerly. The 1942 count of heads provided none of the usual additional information sought by a Settlement census. Hence it is necessary to rely on 1935 figures.

What was the population density in 1935? The basis of computation was the number of persons per unit area—in this case the number per acre. In the most densely populated police district, the figure was 547 per acre; a figure of more than 300 per acre obtained in nineteen police districts. A non-scientific, but for the average person a revealing, method would be to state the average numbers of persons and families per house, even though the size of the houses might vary.[2] Actually there is a certain uniformity in

[2] COMPARISONS OF CHINESE POPULATION AND HOUSE OCCUPANCY
(at five-yearly periods)

Year	Chinese Population	Chinese Houses	
		Occupied	Unoccupied
1935	1,120,860	74,952	6,967
1930	971,397	72,686	1,509
1925	810,279	65,474	2,357
1920	759,839	60,472	517
1915	620,401	54,085	1,856
1910	488,005	47,703	4,305
1905	452,716	44,316	1,012
1900	345,276	36,902	6,021
1895	240,995	29,851	800
1890	168,129	21,976	1,508
1885	115,170	18,513	3,064
1880	99,198	16,285	1,158

3: Hinder G-5 (1933-1942) 1944 AF15 East China AF15

the type of houses in which Chinese families live in the Shanghai foreign areas so that the "house" unit has some meaning. Of 41,160 houses in which 113,286 families lived in the most congested areas, the modal figure, that holding for the greatest number of families, namely 22,764, was four families to a house. The median figure was 4.6 families. Expressed in terms of persons, the mode was 24 inhabitants per house.

In the summer of 1938, a year after the outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostilities, the manager of a large textile mill requested a study of the living conditions of workers employed in the factory, the majority of whom lived in the usual type of house. It was found that the modal number of families in 60 houses studied was 7.22; the median was 5.81.

Housing developments where the bulk of the Chinese population lives consist of row after row of two-storied houses,[3] the rows separated by alleyways. The so-called "Chinese house" represents a recognised type of building construction in which the frame is made of native Foochow poles or of imported Oregon pine. If Foochow poles are used, the height is limited by the length of the poles, which in general permit two-storey buildings, each floor ten to twelve feet in height. The width of the house is usually eleven to twelve feet, and the depth varies from twenty-four to forty feet. The house itself originally contains a single front room downstairs, and a kitchen behind, with two rooms above. By the construction of horizontal and perpendicular partitions, however, spaces are provided for additional families. A principal tenant rents the house from a landlord, and by sub-divisions produces what Chinese call *pai ke hsiang*—a dovecote, with cubby-holes in each of which a family lives.

The typical Shanghai "Chinese house" is entered from the small courtyard in the front. One steps into the main downstairs room which is often the residence of the principal tenant, who may cut off a narrow passageway to provide the other tenants with access to their own quarters, or may permit his own room to be the passageway. As a rule, he builds a vertical partition toward the back of the room, thus making a second room which lacks a window. This room in turn may have a horizontal partition, creating an upper space, access to which can be obtained half-way up the

[3] In later years three-storied houses have become common.